

Safe and Inclusive Cities



Capturing Violence through Media Reports: The Case of Patna, Bihar

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Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Urban India: Towards Inclusive Planning and Policies

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1. Introduction: This study attempts to investigate the specific themes of inequality, violence, and poverty captured through media reports, in the context of Patna urban area. The added attempt is to capture other themes emerging out of the media coverage of crime situation in Patna urban area. Media reports inform that urban Patna is a violent and volatile society, predominantly inflicted with different types of crime of violent nature. Reflections through media on poverty and inequality issues demonstrate that urban Patna is a highly stratified society in terms of economic, social, cultural and political conditions. Poverty and inequality often generate and perpetuate crime, however, in many cases, it is affluence and consumerist culture that ignites criminal instinct and perpetuates crime. Social tension and insecurity associated with unemployment, poverty, and inequality may turn a civilian into a criminal, however, power, security, and prosperity also drives them to commit crime against those powerless or less powerful. The failure of the state agencies to perform and deliver basic facilities to common people must be put under the category of ‘crime’ against the affected segment of the society, from a different perspective. The vast section of the society living in underprivileged and insecure living condition turns violent to protest against the state, criminals and civil society, at critical occasions, and often, commit crime. The border line between a non-criminal and criminal thus becomes very thin, in many cases, and at many occasions.

Media reports inform that ‘body crime’ is the most common and numerous crime followed by ‘crime against women’ (gendered and gender-neutral both, taking together). Third numerous is ‘economic crime’, a particular type of which may be treated as ‘gendered crime’ because this is committed, exclusively, with women. Fourth numerous are incidents of ‘public protest’ that is often directed against the state and its agencies as well as (against) the perpetrators of crime; criminals and non-criminals, both. Public protest often acquires violent form and civilians are forced to commit criminal offence such as damage to public property, detention of government officials, road blockades, violent clashes etc. Public protest is a manifestation of public grief and anger in a situation where their basic entitlements are not met after repeated legal and justifiable demands made through proper channels. This is mostly associated with lack of proper urban planning and efficient performance of the state agencies in the city. Therefore, ‘urban planning’ is an important issue around which not only public protests occur, but this also perpetuates criminal offence of different types. Public protest against police inefficiency and their connivance with criminals, weak law & order situation, and heinous nature of crime such as sexual abuse committed against kids / minors (of both sexes), and killing of innocent people are also recorded. Crime against women, especially, those committed in private (inside house) sphere such as dowry killing, harassment, sexploitation etc. does not spark public protest nevertheless, eve-teasing and molestation, often committed in public sphere, has only recently sparked protest of local nature.

Crime is perpetrated and perpetuated by the Police as well. Crime within prison premises and to rescue criminals and under-trials constitute separate categories. On campus crime of gendered nature is rampant at the educational institutions and in surrounding areas. Political crime and crime perpetrated by political-criminal nexus is yet another important type (of crime) in urban Patna. Violent clashes between gangster groups constitute an important part of the body crime. To sum up, Patna urban area is a volatile site for study of violence, poverty, and inequality and these themes along with other issues are studied through exhaustive coverage of media reports.

2. Coverage Area, The City of Patna and Urban Conglomeration: Patna is the capital city of the state of Bihar and the central part of the city is known as New Patna, where all administrative buildings including Secretariats (old and new), Bihar Vidhan Sabha (Legislative Assembly), Bihar Vidhan Parishad (Legislative Council), Patna High Court, Media Offices (print and electronic, both) and other important official units are located. This area also includes residential conglomeration of the high-profile governing people. Briefly, the nucleus part of the New Patna is the site of governance and governing people in Bihar around which some residential localities of Bailey Road, Boring Road, Boring Canal Road and S K Puri are located on the north-West; Kidwaipuri and Sri Krishna Nagar, on the north-East; and commercial localities in the Buddha Marg, Harding Road, Station road and Fraser road, on the east. Patna is inhabited on the southern bank of river Ganga and the geographical shape of the city is rectangular extended from Danapur in the extreme West to Patna City in the extreme East; Kankarbagh, Hanuman Nagar and Agam Kuan localities in the extreme south that is encircled through the Bypass road; and Phulwari Sharif, Khagaul (both small towns) in the extreme south-West. In between the New Patna and the extreme ends of Patna urban area lies important old and new posh localities that constitute the second rectangular shape - are Rajendra Nagar and Kadamkuan, in the eastern part; and Rajbanshi Nagar and Pataliputra Colony, in the western part of the city. Mithapur and Gardanibagh are two old posh localities in the middle-West, which have now lost their 'posh' status though some groups of old residents with ancestral property are still well off and classy, but constitute a minority, in these areas¹. Gandhi Maidan and Patna University are two prime locations in the city; the former is the central site for public use; and the later is located along the bank of river Ganga. The campus begins at the Magadh Mahila College (a premier women's college) near Gandhi Maidan and ends at the NIT and Patna Law College campus, near Mahendru mohalla, the beginning point of Patna city. In between Magadh Mahila College and starting point of Ashok Rajpath Police Control Room and Patna Collectariat are located. Gandhi Maidan police station, Civil Court and Pirbahor police station are also located within one kilometer distance in this locality. The geographical location is stated here for two reasons; one, to explain the coverage of media reports related to crime incidents in the capital; and the other to highlight the incidence of crime, which is negatively correlated with the localities closer to New Patna, and positively with distanced urban settlements. This normal trend is inverted with the sole exception of Khagaul²—a small

town, located at the extreme west fringe of Patna, with lower crime incidence. Normal trend is most visible in the urban locations of Phulwari Sharif, Danapur and Digha, where crime incidence is very high. Patna city is another distant location where crime incidence is very high followed by Kankarbagh colony, Gardanibagh and Rajabazar.

3. Method and Phases of Study: To capture the broader themes of poverty, inequality and violence in urban Patna through media reports, altogether nine templates are created out of more than hundred selected crime reports (in a year) collected from the most widely circulated daily newspapers with best coverage of crime stories. Hence, this study is based on altogether 1214 incidents covered through media reports, which constitute primary data (for this study). Stories on road rage, protests, demolitions, slum resettlements are also covered to capture these themes. Nine templates are created on the basis of the templates used by the National Crime Record Bureau (NCRB, henceforth), however, crime records utilized for this study cannot be strait-jacketed in the NCRB format, and deviate from this (format). Therefore, additional templates are created and some of the used formats are also recast. Crime reports are collected for altogether 10 years, from the beginning of the year 2005 to the end of the year 2014 (from January 2005 to December 2014).

The one decade (2005 to 2014) period of study is marked by **five phases** associated with change in political regime and governance in the state; first, imposition of the President Rule in March 2005; second, overthrow of the 15 year old regime of one political party³ and change of regime in favour of two parties⁴ (coalition led government) in November 2005 in the state; third, continuation of the same party (coalition) led government, which came to power with thumping majority in 2010; fourth, felling apart of the two ruling party partners in June 2013 and quitting of the one that resulted in weakening of the government led by the bigger partner, which had to take support from other parties (till then constituted the opposition block in the Assembly) to continue in the government; and finally, after the Parliamentary election results in May 2014, continuation of the same government with another person elected as the Chief Minister (on May 19, 2014), which further weakened the governance. These phases (Matrix-I below) highlight the fact that crime situation, violence and public protests are very much influenced by the stability of the political regime and strength / weakness of the governance (in the state). The spurt of violence and public protest, failure of local governing bodies and public institutions that regulate and facilitate essential supplies and services to the public, weakening of the law and order situation – all are sharply reflected in media reports over this period.

Matrix-I: Change of Regimes and Changing Trends of Crime

| Phases | Years | Change in Political Regime | Change in Crime Trends |
|--------|---------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| I | January | Last days of the RJD Regime, | -Worst ever phase of |

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | 2005 to March 8 & March 9 to October 2005 | Assembly Election Results failed to form a government in February; President Rule was imposed on March 9, 2005; continued till next election was commenced. | crime committed in public spheres; -Political killing & violence perpetrated; - Extortion & abduction as the worst economic crime |
| II | November 2005 to October 2010 | <i>Change of Regime with JDU-BJP Coalition after 15 years</i> <i>NDA led Government in Power – <u>First Term</u></i> | -Retaliatory Crime by Politician-Criminal Nexus of the Old Regime; - Fierce Challenge posed to crime control efforts of the new regime; - It took time to improve crime situation. |
| III | November 2010 to June 2013 | <i>NDA-led Government Continued – <u>Second Term</u></i> | Stability Threatened Spurt in Public Protest & Other Crimes |
| IV | June 2013 to May 2014 | <i>JDU-led Congress Supported Weaker Government Continued</i> | Crime-graph goes up with change in its form & nature; blatant & violent crimes remained in control |
| V | May 19, 2014 onwards | JDU-led Weaker Government further weakened with change of the Chief Minister | Continuation of Phase –V |

Year 2005, the first year of the study period therefore, begins with continuation of the old regime of the RJD, which was characterised by overall decline and degeneration in the society with highest ever incidence of crime; the year experiences President Rule for six months extended till the new regime took over and 15 years of dark age ended with a positive change⁵. The crime situation during this phase is worst ever (though number of crime cases being lesser than the second phase) notwithstanding the fact that the state was under President Rule for six months and cases of extortion, kidnapping, gang war and political clash and killings associated with all these were rampant. Year 2005 began with election the results of which failed to constitute an elected government after which President Rule was imposed till the next elections were conducted and the new regime took over in November.

The next five years (second phase) of the study period (November 2005- October 2010) is witness to a strong political regime and good governance with broad based public support. The efforts for crime control remained one of the key agenda of the new governance. This phase is marked by intense conflict between the ruling parties and government at the one end, and the loser party, on the other. The criminal-politician nexus, which had strengthened their grip over last 15 years was not ready to reconcile with the new situation. Patna, being the state capital became a site of intense conflict between the two opposite forces that culminated in increasing graph of body crime. Political and economic crime followed the suit. It took four-five years to recede the

offensive of the criminals and to a greater extent to eliminate dreaded criminal gangs through special policing efforts. Perceptible improvement in crime situation began since 2010, which continued during consecutive years. The civil society, women in particular, now felt much safer than before in public spheres; expectations of the common people throughout this period moved up; new regime was stable, strong and competent to safeguard the interests of the common people – such feelings were in the air.

This pace strengthened through the third phase between 2011 and mid-2013, during second stint of the NDA regime, which was voted to power with thumping majority. The political situation and governance both was stable. This phase is characterised by ‘public protest’ against the failure of the government bodies, accountable for civic amenities supply. The expectation of the civil society from the governance was heightened during this phase and common people were not ready to accept lapses as they had voted the regime to power with great expectations. Year 2012 witnesses the highest number of public protest incidents and women along with men were on the street to fight out not only ‘lapses’ but also crime and criminals.

Next phase between mid-June-2013 and mid-May 2014 is not only a testimony to a weaker regime being administered by a weakening state, but also a serious set back that the civil society had to suffer. Heightened expectations of the common people were now converted into anger and frustration. The parting away of the ruling coalition parties in June 2013 weakened the strong & stable government. This development frustrated the civil society as well. The crime graph though remained controlled like before but the impact was felt on the state civil supply agencies as well, which resulted in different types of protests and demonstrations against the governing bodies. The cases associated with lapses by the civic bodies and urban planning record the highest percentage followed by public protest during this period.

The overall situation continued to weaken the governance during fifth phase (mid-May 2014 till year-end) as well and more so, after change of the Chief Minister on May 19, 2014 of the state (Matrix-I above). This abrupt change further deteriorated the situation although, crime graph remained in control (with little variations) but public protests and lapses on the part of the governance both recorded highest incidents.

These phases are directly associated with governance, in general and law & order situation in the state, in particular. This has bearing on the crime situation in public sphere, responsibility for which very much rests with police administration. So far as crime committed in private sphere is concerned, this is attributed to social-cultural environment, gender-constructs, and mindset of the society. Private sphere is the most common and intense site of crime against women.

4. Crime Profile and Trends: The crime profile of urban Patna organised into Nine Templates are summarized in Table-1 below. As stated at the outset, while body crime

constitutes the highest number and percentage, crime against women (both gendered and gender-neutral taken together) constitutes the second highest. Therefore, crime profile templates are re-organised along gender lines (Table-1.1, Table-1.2 & Table-1.3, Annexure-I). The cases related to ‘urban planning’ and ‘public protest’ are reorganized in two separate tables (1.4 & 1.5, Annexure-I) because these do not fall under the blatant category of crime; while former are lapses on the part of the governance the later is public response to these lapse and in both categories, crime is committed in indirect and subtle forms. These tables are prepared on gender neutral basis, because the cases put in these involve persons from both genders.

The crime profile for ten (2005-2014) consecutive years (Table-1 below) reveals that of the total (1214) incidents **body crime** constitutes nearly one third (34.5 per cent) that includes murder, kidnapping and gender-neutral physical assault of any kind. This crime category is most numerous with highest percentage in all years with two exceptions; first is year 2012 during which incidents of **public protest** is the highest with 30 percent; and second is 2014 during which incidents associated with **urban planning** record highest percentage followed by ‘public protest’ and ‘body crime’, respectively. While ‘body crime’ normally involves men, at many occasions women and kids also become target. This is perceptible in cases involving physical assault and attempt against a family or group of people. Body crime also includes killing and assault as a part of internecine gang-war, which though restricted to criminal gangs, affects the civil society at large. It is, therefore, not surprising that there have been many incidents of public protest against these crimes.

Public protest against the neglect of the public provisions and criminal activities during 2012, 2013 and 2014 indicates that frustration of the civil society is heightened against the weaker law & order situation and lapses on the part of the government agencies responsible for supply of the public services and provisions. **Crime against women** constitutes second numerous with nearly 17 per cent of the total followed by **economic crime** with 15 per cent and public protest with nearly 11 per cent. The number of crime incidents against women though includes mostly gendered crime category is substantially increased after assimilating the cases of gender-neutral crime against women from other templates (Table-1.2, Annexure-I). Political, urban planning & governance related, property-related and poverty-driven crime categories records below 7 percent strength with little variation over the stipulated period. Crime against children is nearly 6 percent, which cannot be said to be lower.

Table-1: Crime Profile of Patna Urban Area (2005 to 2014)

| Crime Profile of Urban Patna and Summary of the Media Reports: 2005 – 2014 | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| No. & Title of Templates | No. of Crime Incidents with Percentage to Total (in Brackets): Year-wise | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | Total |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| T-1: Body Crime | 50 (48.6) | 40 (38) | 44 (29.6) | 50 (34) | 56 (42) | 41 (34) | 52 (48) | 26 (22) | 37 (30.6) | 22 (19.8) | 418 (34.5) |
| T-2: Economic Crime | 15 (14.5) | 23 (22) | 21 (14.9) | 29 (20) | 20 (15) | 23 (19) | 15 (14) | 10 (8.5) | 17 (14) | 11 (9.9) | 184 (15.1) |
| T-3: Political Crime | 07 (6.8) | 05 (4.7) | 12 (8.05) | 07 (4.8) | 03 (2.3) | 06 (5) | 01 (0.9) | 07 (6) | 04 (3.3) | 03 (2.7) | 055 (4.5) |
| T-4: Public Protest | 09 (8.7) | 07 (6.7) | 11 (7.38) | 07 (4.8) | 09 (6.9) | 06 (5) | 07 (6.5) | 36 (30) | 15 (12.4) | 24 (21.6) | 131 (10.8) |
| T-5: Poverty-Driven Crime | 02 (1.9) | 03 (2.9) | 03 (2.01) | 06 (4.1) | 02 (1.5) | 02 (1.6) | 03 (2.8) | 05 (4.2) | 02 (1.6) | 03 (2.7) | 031 (2.5) |
| T-6: Urban Planning | 02 (1.9) | 03 (2.9) | 05 (3.35) | 07 (4.8) | 03 (2.3) | 03 (2.5) | 03 (2.8) | 15 (13) | 05 (4.1) | 31 (27.9) | 077 (6.5) |
| T-7: Property Related Crime | 03 (2.9) | 02 (1.9) | 07 (4.69) | 09 (6.2) | 02 (1.5) | 04 (3.3) | 02 (1.9) | 05 (4.2) | 04 (3.3) | 03 (2.7) | 041 (3.4) |
| T-8: Crime Against Women | 07 (6.8) | 12 (11) | 35 (23.5) | 22 (15) | 33 (25) | 28 (23) | 17 (15.7) | 12 (10.) | 27 (22.3) | 12 (10.8) | 205 (16.9) |
| T-9: Crime Against Children | 08 (7.8) | 10 (9.5) | 11 (7.38) | 09 (6.2) | 04 (3) | 08 (6.6) | 08 (7.4) | 02 (1.7) | 10 (8.3) | 02 (1.8) | 072 (5.9) |
| Total | 103 | 105 | 149 | 146 | 132 | 121 | 108 | 118 | 121 | 111 | 1214 |
| * T: Template | Source: News Reports Collected from local News Dailies between 2005 to 2014 | | | | | | | | | | |

The crime profile (Table-1 above) also indicates that the years 2007, 2008 and 2009 record the highest number of crime incidents notwithstanding stable and strong governance in power with strong commitment to control crime. It appears that the task remained very tough and retaliatory nature of crime to thwart the crime control efforts was committed during initial years of the new regime. The basis for this argument lies in rampant cases of killings in gang-war, police encounter and killings associated with politician-criminal nexus during these years. The crime graph shows declining trend thereafter and continues to be consistent between 2010 and 2014. This also needs to be noted that the crime profile is much more indicative of trends and nature of crime than its numerical strength *per se*, because media reports do not capture all crimes committed in the city. Classification of crime also tends to be of tentative nature in many cases, because themes of the study cross-cut the categories and have close interface with one another in many cases. Therefore, it is not quantitative data *per se* that is very important instead it is qualitative features, which need to be highlighted, discussed and illustrated.

4.1 Killed and Not Killed: Patna urban area is a **violent** society. This is aptly reflected in the highest incidence of crime in which people are killed. Crime cases that involved killing of men, women and children of both genders and those not killing (but physically affected) them are assimilated from all crime templates and presented categorically in Table-2 (below). This is shocking to note that altogether 588 crime cases involved killing of adult women and men with additional 38 that involved killing of kids in different types of crime. **To put it another way, 626 cases out of the total 1214 involved loss of life for any reason and this constitutes 51.5 percent (of the total).** This includes suicides as well, which though may not be treated under the category of ‘killing’ yet must be

treated as the cases of 'loss of life' for different reasons. In case of women of the 37 cases of suicide many are committed for dowry demand yet in such a subtle way that those could not be treated as 'dowry killings'. In altogether 163 cases women are killed for gendered (99) and gender-neutral (64) both reasons. The corresponding figure for men is 425 (250 per cent higher than women) that includes 23 cases of suicide. Female children are killed in 9 cases of which 4 are for gendered reasons, such as sexual abuse and 5 for gender-neutral, such as physical assault and atrocities. Of these five one was a domestic help and the other a Dalit minor, who were killed for different reasons. Male children are killed in 29 cases (above 300 per cent higher than female) and surprisingly 3 were sexually abused and killed while in 26 cases they were killed for ransom and vengeance after being kidnapped.

Table-2: Women, Men & Children of Both Genders Killed & Not-Killed

| Sr. No | <i>Gendered & Gender-neutral Crime Against women (2005-2014)</i> | | | | <i>Crime Against Men (2005-2014)</i> | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| | All Types | G | GN | Total | All Types | Grand Total |
| 1. | Killed | 62 | 64 | 126 | 402 | 528 |
| 2. | Suicide | 37(G+GN) | | 037 | 23 | 60 |
| | Total | 99 | 64 | 163 | 425 | 588 |
| 3. | Not Killed | 127 | 37 | 164 | 142 | 306 |
| | Total | 226 | 101 | 327 | 567 | 894 |
| Sr. No | <i>Crime Against Female Children (14 year & below)</i> | | | Total | <i>Crime Against Male Children(14 year & below)</i> | Total |
| 1. | Killing | 04 | 05 | 09 | 29 | 38 |
| 2. | Not Killed | 22 | 02 | 24 | 30 | 54 |
| | Total | 26 | 07 | 33 | 59 | 92 |
| | Grand Total | 252 | 108 | 360 | 626 | 986 |
| Source: Based on Tables- 1.1, 1.2 & 1.3, Annexure. | | | | | | |
| G-Gendered; GN-Gender Neutral Crime categories. | | | | | | |

The cases of those women, men and children who were 'affected but not killed' are also numerous. **The total cases affecting women, men and kids of both genders are 360 that constitute nearly 30 percent of the total crime cases recorded over one decade.** Women in 164 and female children in 24 (together 188) cases; and men in 142 and male children in 30 (together 172) are affected. It is again shocking to find that in 22 out of 24 cases female children are affected by gendered crime such as sexual abuse and attempt to sexual abuse, while in only 2 they are physically assaulted. Male children are kidnapped and physically assaulted. In one case, a minor was trapped in criminal activity in Beur a Jail premises. Gendered crime against women has substantial share with 127 cases while gender-neutral have only 27. Gendered crime includes gang rape, rape, attempted rape, abduction, sexual exploitation, extra-marital relationship, dowry harassment, trafficking and molestation. A special type of economic crime against women is perceptible since

2010 and became rampant onwards. This is gold rope snatching and may be put under 'gendered' category in a different context. Indian women wear long gold rope around their neck and this is common practice. Gold is very expensive and its market price never goes down. The smart motorcyclist snatchers target women for this crime and succeed in making fortune. Gold snatchers are seldom arrested by police. Such cases are 23 (out of 127 gendered crimes) and this constitutes 20 percent of the total.

Men are killed in gang war, extortion, kidnapping, property disputes, robbery and other reasons, for instance, involvement with criminal-politician-contractor nexus in any way (Table-1.1, Annexure-I). They also constitute the perpetrator side and many of them are killed in gang war by rival gangs. Poisonous liquor consumption causes poor men's death. Poverty & economic hardship pushed them to commit suicide, the additional reason being stress in marital relationship, for any reason. Some cases of killing the family and committing suicide for different reasons are also recorded. Physical assault, kidnapping, bomb blast, firing and clashes / disputes constitute main reasons that affect men (but not kill).

To sum up, crime incidents have claimed lives in above 51 percent cases and perpetrated physical and sexual assault in additional 30 percent cases; taking together 81 percent of the total incidents. The share of women & female kids is (172) nearly 28 percent of the all (626) who have lost life and 52 per cent (188) of the all (360) who were affected but not killed. Women and female children share 36.5 percent of the all cases that involved killing and not-killing of the victim; the 73.5 per cent share goes to men and they record the highest incidence of killing.

4.2 Victim of Other Types of Crime: How does the remaining 19 percent of the cases affect persons of both genders? There are some categories of cases that affect both individuals and the civil society, at large (Tables-1.1, 1.4 & 1.5, Annexure-I). Many of these affect group of people and in some cases the whole settlement. Cases associated with water & power supply, water logging and fire outbreak devastating poor's settlements (which appears to be a natural disaster but the genesis of which lies in lack of urban planning to make permanent housing provisions for the poor) victimize the society at large. Public protests (that acquire often violent forms) against these lapses needs to be seen in terms of 'public response' to decaying functioning of the state instead of in terms of lawlessness (the way the administration looks at these). Loss of public property, inconvenience caused to common people, for instance, during road blockades and violent clashes etc. though falls under various types of criminal offence needs to be perceived differently. All shades and forms of crimes stated above broadly falls under the crime committed by the state, the establishment and the law & order situation. These crimes committed with the civil society at large are, in fact, serious lapses that badly affect common people, who after repeated efforts to redress their grievances through proper

channel fail, and then left with no option but to resort to violent protest against the responsible people and agencies.

Economic crime constitutes the highest among three categories of crime listed in Table-3 below. Urban planning constitutes the third highest and public protest, the second highest. This table shows the total number of crime cases higher than the recorded incidents presented in Table-1 (above). The reason is, overlapping of those cases that involved killing. The assimilation of those cases into one category (killing across genders) from all crime templates has increased the number by 160. The recast of the tables along gender lines has also created this difference.

Table -3: Other Types of Crime

| Sr. No | Other Crime Cases | No of Cases |
|---------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | Economic Crime | 211 |
| 2. | Urban Planning | 074 |
| 3. | Public Protest | 103 |
| | Total | 388 |
| 4. | Killed & Not Killed | 986 |
| | Grand Total | 1374 |
| | Total Crime Incidents | 1214 |
| | Difference | +160 |

The original figure of 1214, however, stands as the prime figure for overall analysis. **Economic crime** that excludes (killing & gendered crime of gold rope snatching) includes incidents of cash robbery, robbery committed in houses, shops and banks, smuggling & fraud, extortion, scams and others (Table-1.1, Annexure-I). **Urban planning** includes administrative and supply lapses such as fire in settlements of the poor, killing through electric current, encroachment, illegal construction, crunch of water and power supply and water-logging (Table-1.4, Annexure-I) – all severely affecting the poor and common people’s life. **Public Protest** includes protest against crime & criminals such as accidental deaths caused by reckless driving, killing of innocent people, extortion, kidnapping and sexual abuse of kids, water & power crunch, medical casualty in hospitals and nursing homes, fraud & corrupt practices, demotion drives in localities where poor reside and police atrocities. Student’s protest occupies a distinct category as these are quite numerous and directed against the University administration. Public protest against gendered crime in public has only recently attracted attention and this is located in case of eve-teasing, molestation and sexual abuse of kids (Table-1.5, Annexure-I). Public protest as stated above often acquires violent form and affects common people, causes damage to public property, and also results in punishing civil officials, police officials and at occasions, to the extreme of lynching the criminals. The list includes spontaneous public reactions / responses to the situation (and deliberately excludes political protest under the garb of public protest).

5. Illustration and Analysis: Study of the crime profile suggests that crime is committed broadly in two spheres; public and private. In urban Patna, crime in both spheres, register high incidence. Victim and perpetrator appear as two opposite categories. The victims constitute two types; one who is criminal or part of criminal network and therefore, also becomes perpetrator; two those who are innocent civilians and becomes victim in the real sense of the terms. The former category is predominantly applicable to men, women in only specific cases fall under this category and more so in different forms, for instance, in case of extra-marital affairs, sex-rackets, dowry killings etc. they too get involved in criminal act. The perpetrators may be put into two broad categories; one who are habitual criminals; and the other, who are non-criminals, but get involved in criminal act under specific condition and circumstances that proves to be the tipping point for them. The motives behind (crime) and psychology of the criminals for similar type of crime may be similar in many cases, while multifarious and dissimilar in many other. Study highlights that in many cases victim and perpetrator both are criminals, and in many others, the former is non-criminal and later a criminal. Crime against an individual and crime against the collective is another attribute of crime. This may be extended to social crime category, for instance, trafficking in women, drug trading, flesh trade centres being run in residential localities and liquor shops here and there, everywhere. Caste, class, economic status, power and powerlessness – crime is neither neutral nor relative to these attributes and identities. These attributes converge and diverge in specific situations.

5.1 Body Crime: The crime typologies as stated at the outset are organised under nine heads and then, re-organised along gender lines. Study of the body crime, which constitutes the highest percentage during all five phases (see 3) with exceptions to the years 2012 & 2014, and claimed altogether 986 lives of persons from both genders (that includes 92 children as well) offers some insights into the genesis and reasons behind crime. It is relevant to highlight that of the 374 men killed, 191 were non-criminals, i.e. innocent civilians. Remaining 183 were in one way or the other either criminal or associated with crime in any way; for instance, killings in gang war; killings in rivalry within political-criminal nexus and contractor-criminal nexus (Cases below). Criminal-politician nexus strongly work in contract related work, building construction and other such money-making occupations. It is just next to impossible to obtain a government contract work for an entrepreneur (engineer/contractor builder etc.) who wishes to take up this work in entrepreneurship spirit at their own. How young engineer-contractor duo is killed by a dreaded criminal – the case cited below is a glaring instance. The incident relates to year 2005 but replicated in all years when and wherever such situation arises.

Engineer and Contractor Killed in Tender War

Young engineer Sanjiv Kumar and contractor Ravi Ranjan Singh were killed by a notorious gangster Kundan Singh, who after committing crime claimed his involvement in both killings. AK-47 was used to kill them. Bullets injured six others including a doctor. *The crime was committed in broad day light on the busy Bypass road. Deceased, working with Reliance Company became victim of 'tender war'.* Government contracts are often accessed by criminal-politician nexus in the state and whoever comes in their way is eliminated in order to establish sway over the money-minting occupation. (September 27, 2005).

Gang war claimed 69 lives – all criminals. Kidnapping of innocent person (adult or non-adult) for ransom and kidnapping as a part of rivalry are different. Similarly, robbery by robbers at a non-criminal civilian's house and robbery at a politician's 'well protected' house is different. Motive is money in the former case while in the latter it may be 'vengeance'. The incidence of gang war killings is highest during 2005 that recedes consistently over the consecutive years; the reasons are two; first, elimination of criminals in gang war; and second, elimination of the criminals by police. Police encounters during 2006 and 2009 also played significant role. The new governance, during second phase dealt with tough hands with the criminal gangs that continued through the years with fast and slow pace.

Notorious Gangster Killed by Criminal Cousin

Pappu Singh, notorious gangster wanted by police in many cases of murder, kidnapping and other serious crimes was killed by his cousin Navin Singh in NavVihar colony of Ashiana Nagar. Deceased was living there with fake name in a house. The killer is also a criminal and police investigation concluded that they had serious conflicts over which many rounds of bullets were fired from both sides in which Pappu was killed. Navin escaped arrest (September 20, 2005).

Vengeance and **power** are two important geneses of body crime in many cases and acts as the prime motive behind killing. Vengeance is the most perceived tipping point that turns a non-criminal into a criminal. There are many cases of kidnapping and killings in which perpetrators were friend, relative and close to victims and the reason for the crime was vengeance. Vengeance and rivalry are two strong motives behind gang-war killings, extortion-related killings and killing of persons from the politician, contractors and builders communities. Money, revelation of power and establish hegemony over the rival are other motives behind killings. Innocent people are normally killed in robbery, kidnapping, love relationships, extra-marital affairs, and at times, without knowing why? Politicians are also killed in vengeance, dispute and animosity with close people / relatives and many other reasons. The common feature is involvement of criminals, who often happens to be from the rival political camp. The process of criminalization of the politics in Bihar through which politicians unitized criminals during elections and on

other occasions has attained its height during RJD regime, the reflection of which was seen in killing of many RJD leaders in 2005 and 2006 as well, including leaders of the other parties. The case below is an instance.

BJP Leader Shot Dead in Saloon

Dina Nath Kranti, a local leader of the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) was shot dead by some assailants, who forcibly entered the saloon where the leader was present for shaving. They pumped bullets into him and fled away. Kranti died on the spot. Police investigation revealed that the deceased had faced at least four time attacks on his life before and in one attack his leg was severely affected. Personal and political both angles of animosity and vengeance are suspected in this case. (June 6, 2009).

Lynching is another cruel type of body crime. Altogether 13 cases are recorded over a decade. Lynching is a crime committed by mob and reflects hatred of the mob against the person lynched. This also reflects heightened level of frustration among the common people against the police. Reason/s behind this crime could be anything ranging from social contempt to innocent killings, robbery, sexual abuse and killing of a kid. The public anger against inefficiency of the police that resulted in lynching of the criminals is cited below.

Public Lynched Three Robbers on Ashok Rajpath

Public rage lynched three robbers on Ashok Rajpath while two managed to escape. Five robbers were trying to escape after robbing an auto Riksha. *Enraged public, in the presence of police, chased the robbers, caught them up and lynched three with bricks / stone and whatever stuffs were available*, while two anyhow escaped leaving behind all robbed stuffs on the road. Public anger was a reflection of inefficiency of the police force to protect common people from the criminals. (June 9, 2007)

Physical assault for different reasons also constitutes part of the body crime and these appear to be secondary going by the number of such cases. Bomb blast, firing, violent clashes & conflicts – all such crimes are committed by the criminals, but students are also involved in such incidents at the campus – the prime reason for which is penetration of the criminal elements in to the student's hostels, especially off-campus residents. Most of the body crimes against men occur in public spheres, and therefore, raises questions over the law and order situation. Violent acts that causes physical assault and damage of property by students are perpetuated in many cases for gender reasons too; for instance, dispute over why a particular girl is associated with a particular boy and not with the particular student, who 'loves' her; and who will exercise power and control over girls.

Firing in Patna College Campus over who will be Closer to Girls Common Room

Two rival groups of male students from Jackson and Newton Hostels clashed on the issue of *supremacy and who will be closer to the girl's common room to exercise his dominance over girl students* and took up firing in the college campus. The clash and subsequent firing badly injured two students; one of whom being serious– both were admitted to the Patna Medical College hospital. FIR is lodged with the Pirbahore PS and investigation is on. (August 9, 2005)

Body crime records 10 percent decline in 2006 with mixed trends till 2001 and shows consistent decline thereafter. Year 2010 and 2011 were election years for the assembly and local bodies, respectively though elections were conducted under strict law and order situation. It is revealing that of the total incidents of murder internecine war between the criminal gangs claimed highest number of lives. Extortion and Kidnapping cases record second numerous and killing of innocent people for ransom constituted third numerous. Robbery in the houses also claimed lives. The specific fact needs to be highlighted here is political affiliation of perpetrators of crime that has to be treated as an important genesis of crime. The criminals are often a part of politician-criminal nexus, which is supported by the institution of police as well. In many cases, extortion and robbery occurred in the areas nearby a local police station and police arrived after crime was committed and criminal easily escaped.

5.2 Body Crime and Women: How is body crime different for women? Like men women with kids too are killed in robbery at their houses, in accidents and in some cases by their spouse, if they seriously oppose and threat their extra-marital affairs. Women are rarely killed in public spheres. Even cases of physical assault against them are rare in public. In a few cases women together with kids (family) are killed by men, who intended to commit suicide for specific reasons and kill themselves after killing all. In fact, what is categorized as crime against women – a substantial part of this is blatant body crime; dowry killing is the best example and dowry harassment and torture is the second best notwithstanding the mental and emotional aspects of crime inherent therein. Cases of assault and killing of women in property disputes and suicide by women (with their kids killed by mother) under reeling pressure of poverty are also revealing. Cases of suicides by women reveal three main reasons; poverty & destitution among poor; economic hardship & emotional stress among lower middle class; career-related stress, love affair related anguish & frustration among young girls; and dowry harassment among newly wed. Half of the total suicide cases are attributed to poverty and desertion, in which poor mothers have ended their lives with their kids either consuming poison or drowning in river Ganga.

Mother Committed Suicide: Jumped into Ganga with Two Kids

A poverty-stricken, stigmatized, and deserted mother jumped into river Ganga to commit suicide from Gandhi Setu with her two kids – both daughters aged 2.5 and 5 years. *The woman had to suffer the brunt of producing two daughters for which his drunkard husband left home. She was further stigmatized by her in-laws, who accused her of harassing their son who left home. Getting no rescue and support she anyhow managed to survive at her own for two months and then ended her life with kids whom she was not able to feed (January 21, 2006).*

Female kids and minors too are very unsafe. Cases of assault and killing of a domestic help (a minor girl) and rape Tribal minors are recorded in crime templates. These cases reveal that it is not just criminals who commit crime instead it is respected government officials and the NGOs working for the cause of the poor and destitute women and girls who turn to be criminals, in their own ways. The reason in case of killing of the domestic help though not established through investigation till reporting time but the killing was obvious; in case of tribal girls – the insensitive and dubious role of the ‘protection centre’ proved to be the basic reason for the crime the girls had to suffer.

Burnt Body of Minor Domestic Help Found in BDO's Bathroom

Rekha (14), a domestic help working at the residence of N K Sudhanshu (Block Development Officer) posted at Sitamarhi, was found dead with burn injuries in bathroom of his family house located in Phulwari Sharif, Patna. Police investigation revealed that incident occurred while the officer was at home. *His wife tried to prove this as a suicide case stating that the victim had stolen money and when caught red-handed she set herself on fire in bathroom, however, this proved to be a case of torture and killing (August 2, 2007).*

Minor Tribe Girls Raped in Capital

Pakko and Kalo - two minor Tribal girls were trapped by some criminals and gang raped by them. Both girls had come to Patna in search of job and living at the stay home provided by an NGO. *They felt unsafe and faced torture at the stay home and fled away only to be trapped by criminals, who after committing crime abandoned them near railway station. Devastated girls were spotted miserably crying by a vendor man, who took them to Kotwali PS (Sept 29 2007).*

Urban Patna is not safe for the senior citizens (of both genders) either and not at all if they are women and single. In a few cases, senior citizens (women) are killed in their houses they lived in alone or with a domestic help as happened in case of a Patna University professor living in a big house located in Pataliputra colony. In yet another

case a 70 year old woman was killed in her rented flat where she lived alone. Crime knows no class-bar either. In both cases robbery was motive behind killing and in Professor's case the killers were known to the victims.

PU Professor and Maid Killed in Pataliputra Colony House Robbed

The robbers stabbed Professor Papiya Ghosh (54) and her maid Malati (75) to death in her Pataliputra Colony house. Professor Ghosh was single and lived in her house with maid. The gruesome killings came to light next morning when domestic help arrived and door was not opened after repeated calls. The criminals committed robbery and took away Maruti car of the deceased. Police investigation *prima facie* concluded that killers and robbers were known to deceased and their real intention was robbery. It appears that they might have been resisted and identified by the deceased and for that reason they killed them. They used kitchen knives to stab them, which a professional killer does not use. (December 4, 2006).

Old Woman Strangled to Death in Rajendra Nagar Flat Robbed

Lalmuni Devi (70) was strangled to death in her rented flat located in road no -1 in Rajendra Nagar locality and house was found robbed off. Her husband and two sons stayed at Buxer, Asansole and Deoghar and used to visit her, at intervals. She lived alone at Patna. Criminals entered the first floor flat breaking the door and committed crime (July 23, 2005).

Senior citizen women living alone are vulnerable to risk- the cases cited above substantiate this fact. Ironically, urban Patna has good strength of senior citizens (of both genders) and substantial part of this strength come from the upper caste and middle and upper-middle class. The reason is migration (within country and beyond) of last two generations for employment reasons. This segment of the society is vulnerable to crime as most of them are well off material resource-wise but poor in human resource. Such crimes often occur in posh localities like Pataliputra Colony, Rajendra Nagar, Nageshwar Colony and other posh areas.

5.3 Crime against Women: The crime category that encapsulates gendered and gender-neutral both types of crime against women constitutes second most numerous in most of the years in stipulated decade and during 2007, 2009 and 2010 records the highest incidence, with some decline over next two years to shoot up again in 2013. This category of crime shows a consistent trend and increase in eve-teasing and molestation cases on college and university campus since 2010 onwards. It is striking to note that in 2005 and 2006 this crime category is much lower and significantly shoots up in 2007 and the trend continues. Does it suggest that crime against women was really lower? Answer cannot be 'yes' for more than one reasons; first during 2005 and 2006 incidence of gender-neutral crime against women, body crime, in particular is high that is reported in media; what remained under-reported is gendered crime against them, often committed in

private sphere; second, during RJD regime cases of abduction of women and girls followed by sexual crime (instead of ransom) against them were rampant and law & order situation was better expressed in terms of 'lawlessness', therefore, women hardly dared to move free and fearless in public spheres, which prevented them from crime committed in public sphere; third, crime committed in private sphere were under-reported in media, even dowry killings were not registered with police station, and therefore, not adequately covered by media either; fourth, big crime stories related to politician-criminal nexus and builder-contractor-criminal nexus used to get coverage other crime stories were less important to be reported; fifth, gender awareness level was very low and almost insignificant in media, therefore, unless a crime associated with women (or against women) would be big and sensational it was left un-reported. To cite one example here, on January 4, 2006 a school teacher Rupam Pathak killed a BJP legislator (Rajkishore Kesari) in Purnea, who according to her statement had sexually exploited her for many years and tried to victimize her daughter as well, which proved to be the tipping point for the lady to commit a crime like murder. This was a crime story in which a victim became a perpetrator! This is a good example of gender-role reversal in crime incident. Media, activists, and civil society organisations all, for the first time, stood in favour of a woman who was a 'killer' and had dared to kill a MLA of the ruling party. This incident proved to be a turning point as it raised gender awareness in media and helped increase coverage about crime against women in media. Why crime against women is records higher incidence in 2007 and onwards – one reason lies in enhanced coverage of such crimes, which remained under-reported before.

Crime

5.3.1 Gendered Crime: Some forms of gender-neutral and gendered crimes are already discussed in preceding part on body crime. Therefore, this part is more about gendered crime with specific references about gender-neutral crimes. Crime against women is predominantly committed in private spheres and this is more so in case of gendered crime such as domestic violence, sexual assault, dowry killings etc. The incidence of crime committed in public spheres, however, has increased over last years; the blatant example of which is trafficking in women and sex-racket being operated in men's beauty parlours and rented flats in different localities. These places too may fall in 'private' sphere in the sense of 'confined within four walls, but, here, the difference is made between 'home' and 'outside-home'. Home is the most intense site of all forms of crime against women, therefore, above difference makes sense.

Dowry killing claims the highest number of women's life followed by suicide. In many cases reason for suicide is consistent torture for dowry therefore, many of these too have to be treated as dowry killing. Torture and harassment normally precedes dowry killings and suicides. Study of most of these cases brings to light some shocking facts and findings;

first, many lives could have been saved if timely intervention from the victim's natal family would be initiated;

second, if the victim herself, sensing the gravity of the situation, could alert herself and took preemptive steps to save her life;

third, if the victim was not forcibly sent back to her in-laws house after they repeated their dowry demands;

fourth, in many cases, the perpetrators (husband together with in-law's whole family) directly threat the parents of the woman and kill her, while in many cases they do this without letting them know and in such cases, it is neighbours and common family friends who inform them;

fifth, in some cases the victim's body remains traceless; fifth there are still some cases, in which husband is innocent and committed by his family.

It can be concluded that all dowry killing cases may not involve husband; some cases may involve only husband; and most of the cases involve husband and his family, both. The other set of shocking findings is about behavior of the natal family (mostly father & brother/s) before and after their daughter is killed for dowry;

first, they try to pacify the 'dowry dispute' – the way they perceive the phenomenon, through meeting demands to their possible extent and capacity;

second, they try all such efforts to 'save the marriage' as in their perception saving the marriage is to save the life & future of their daughter;

third, they expect her to do all compromises to appease the in-laws family and husband and never estimate the 'real danger' involved in the pacification process;

fourth they do not estimate (or even if they do refrain to accept) that how traumatic and disempowering this process could prove to be for the victim;

fifth, they remain so insensitive (and /or culturally constrained & custom-bound) and compromising throughout this process that the victim is left with no option but to feel deep down that she is nowhere and with no world of her own;

sixth, the victim under double pressure of torture and compromise from both families becomes so weak and disempowered that her killing becomes 'unproblematic' for the perpetrators.

Priti Set on Fire for Dowry Admitted to Apollo Hospital

Priti was burnt for dowry. She was admitted to Apollo Hospital, in Kumhrar in critical condition. She was repeatedly harassed for dowry and her natal family could not afford to pay Rs. 2 lakh & a computer after her marriage in June 2008. *Priti was threatened with dire consequences each time her father would fail to meet demands.* Finally, her in-laws family set her ablaze and escaped. Her parents were informed by neighbours, who took her to hospital. The FIR was lodged with Agamkuan PS against the offenders. (Dec. 17, 2009).

What the parent's family of the victim does after she is killed? The findings reveal that in most of the cases now FIR is lodged with the police station. This is refrained only in those cases where the perpetrators are powerful and resourceful enough to threaten the victim's family and / or in those where they are not capable to do this for any reason/s. **Dowry killings normally occur across all levels (from lower to upper) of the middle classes and across all castes (that fall under middle classes) of the society.** Though poor families in upper and middle castes may also be found inflicted with dowry evil, killing for dowry is significantly lesser (than the middle strata). So, the natal family of the victim now (unlike a decade ago) normally approach police and lodge an FIR against the perpetrators and cases are instituted against them under stringent laws of the land. It is a different story that how long the legal battle to 'get justice' for one who is killed due to 'injustice' committed against her from both families in blatant and latent forms of torture & harassment, is fought in a country exemplified with the saying 'justice delayed justice denied'!. Marriage with dowry provision for a woman is a 'trap' and not a 'safe heaven' if the natal family could recognise this cruel fact even during dowry demand and harassment phase of the victim's life many precious lives could have been saved. **The dowry killing cases strongly suggest the need to identify this 'tipping point' and take drastic steps to save a woman's life and dignity.** Disappointing fact remains that this is not recognised even in a situation of growing education, awareness, career orientation and employment among girls in middle class families notwithstanding that all this is well accepted and facilitated for girls in such families; the disappointing fact is recognition and acceptance of 'marriage' as the final end of a girl's / woman's life without which all that she attains is treated as 'meaningless' or at least of 'lesser value'!

One can see how situation changes only if victim gets support from her natal family, the case cited below illustrates. Unfortunately, such cases are only a few. The case also illustrates that it is not just money that helps a victim, much more than money is moral and physical support of the natal family that strengthened a woman fight against the heavy odds and evils. The victim's father, in this case, is a person with modest resources who has helped her emerge as a survivor.

Pinki Fighting against Dowry Seekers Staying with Parents

Pinki, mother of three kids, after perpetual dowry demand and torture, left her in-laws's house and taken back by parents. She lodged FIR against her husband & in-laws family and fighting legal battle against them. She is staying with her parents. The family though poor in resource is rich in supporting spirit for their daughter. (February 20, 2010).

There are some cases, which reflect on the process of how has a victim transformed into a survivor and not only survived but also punished the culprits! The case cited below is from a rich business family, which not only tried to kill their daughter in-law but also confined their son as he used to oppose dowry demands.

Sunita thrown into Ganga Survived Lodged Complaint against In-laws Family

Sunita, wedded in a rich business family of Kadamkuan area was thrown into river Ganga from Gandhi Setu near Gaighat locality under Alamganj PS. This nasty attempt to kill her, however, failed, because *Sunita knew swimming and proved to be courageous enough to save her life. Without losing time she filed an FIR against her in-laws and brother in-law* and reported that the family had also confined her husband in a room before they took her to kill, because he opposed their dowry demands. The offenders were arrested as they were confident that Sunita was dead. (March 20, 2008)

It is not just dowry that kills wedded women. They may be killed if they resist and initiate legal fight against sexual exploitation at their in-laws house by relatives of her husband, in absence of / or in case of incapability of her husband to protect her. There are some cases of sexploitation which drove the victims to commit suicide as well.

Woman's Fight against Sexual Exploitation in In-laws Family Claimed her Life

Soni was set ablaze by her in-laws family after she declined to withdraw FIR lodged against her brother in-law for repeated sexual exploitation that resulted in pregnancy. Soni was married to a mentally upset man. Her brother in-law took advantage of this situation and sexually exploited her on the pretext of marriage. When she became pregnant he declined to marry her. Her parent in-laws knew all about this but denied to help her. *Finally, she lodged complaint against her brother in-law and other family members. Soni's father and brother helped her. She was forced by the accused & family to withdraw the case, which she denied to do.* Next day Soni was set ablaze and rushed to hospital in serious condition by her natal family who were informed about the incident by neighbours. Victim died in hospital. (January 5, 2008).

The complex case cited above raises some questions. How and why was Soni married to a mentally upset man? Why was she staying with her in-law's family after she lodged complaint against them? What was the role of her father and brother who supported her

legal fight but allowed to stay at in-laws house to face the consequences all alone? There are many ifs and buts and missing links but the fact remains that even in critical situation even a struggling daughter is not taken back by parents and left at in-law's house to die.

Extra-marital affair and live-in relationship, a new gender-relational construct of the modern era may also kill women. Single women of mature age living alone but appeared to be in temporary live-in relationship may be killed in her apartment flat.

High Court Lawyer Found Dead in Her Vaibhav Apartment Flat

Sangita Sinha (48), a high court lawyer living alone in her flat in Vaibhav apartment, located in Buddha Marg, was found dead in her bedroom. *Victim was reported to be in live-in relationship with a man and he was living with her for some time. He is believed to be the prime suspect in her killing.* Sangita was killed at least three-four days ago and her body was found in decomposed condition. (June 21, 2012).

A socialite may be mercilessly killed by politician-criminal nexus in a high income group (HIG). Sexploitation on the pretext of marriage is not rare and offender may be high echelon police officials. A woman wedded to a man of different caste survives in Punjab and attempted to be killed by her in-laws and husband at home in Patna after two years of marriage, but miraculously survives! These cases are illustrative enough to show how women are prone to violent nature of crime in any relationship and in all spheres of life.

Amrita Dumped into Ganga alive Found alive in Samastipur

Amrita married Adarsh in 2009. Couple was living in Punjab. This was inter-caste marriage, not accepted by her in-law's family. Amrita came to Patna at her in-laws house with her husband and kid on September 5, where all including Adarsh posed before her that the in-laws had accepted their marriage. Amrita could never imagine that her husband was also a part of this foul plot. She was taken to one of their relatives's house along with Adarsh and his brothers. Adarsh offered sedative-laced sweets to make her unconscious and all of them then threw her into the river Ganga from the Gandhi Setu! Amrita was lucky enough to reach Samastipur near Rasalpur Ghat after flowing into the river for 10 hours! She was taken to hospital where the horrific story was exposed in her statement given to police. She lodged case against husband and in-laws. (September 23, 2011)

Gendered crime incidents include organised sexploitation through flesh trade, rape and suicides. Cases of molestation and eve-teasing now find coverage in media reports. It appears that mass awareness on these issues and growing protest against such incidents by women / girls themselves as well as by family and society has contributed to enhance

gender-sensitivity in media as well. It is shocking to note that no incident of crime against adult women sparked public protest, while it has exceptionally sparked in case of sexual abuse of minor (female) and the anger has resulted in lynching or brutally assaulting the offender without waiting for the police to arrive. Conversely, crime against male children such as kidnapping, sexual abuse and killing has sparked public protest.

Gendered crime is still treated as a private domain and society does not respond in organised manner to serious crime against women; for instance, dowry murders are still treated as 'dowry death', domestic violence of all types such as harassment at the in-law's house by husband and other family members is still treated as private affair of a family. If body of a woman is found in a residential locality in suspicious circumstances or in sexually assaulted condition, it generates some curiosity and little shock but such incidents never spark public protest. In some cases, however, gang rape has recently sparked public protest. Encouraging trend is growing tendency among the victim women and their families to expose (instead to conceal like before), and lodge complaints against the offenders of sexual crimes such as gang rape, single rape and sexual abuse. Molestation is now gradually accepted as a crime against women/girls and protested (instead of being ignored before).

Incidents of sexploitation and abuse through flesh trade and women trafficking are quite frequent under the garb of expensive beauty and massage parlours and exceptional under the grab of NGO as well. In some cases, sex trade rackets are exposed in residential areas. This result in social contempt for those found involved in such practices but does not culminate into public protest and action. Incidents of extra-marital affairs that sometimes, culminate into murder of the innocent partner do not spark protest. Women's organization and social movements are much more directed against social crime of any kind. Gender sensitivity and awareness level of the civil society are not as high as is required to combat gender injustice.

5.4 Crime against Children also constitutes fifth numerous at the beginning of the study period and continued till the end with modest fluctuations, and therefore, may be put under 'consistent' crime category. Gruesome killing of the kids (of both genders) after kidnapping and sexual abuse have seriously shocked the civil society. This crime category is highest in 2006 & 2013 and lowest in 2012 and 2014. Most of these crime stories are related to kidnapping, physical assault and sexual assault of (female kids & minors), while a few about sexual abuse (of male minors). Kidnapping of school children of rich people was most flourishing industry (during last years of the RJD regime) and at times, even middle class and lower middle class parents too had to suffer the agony. The other trend about crime against children was their kidnapping by extended family members to settle personal scores with their parents. In some cases, property-related disputes were detected as the underlying reason for kidnapping. In some other shocking incidents, friends or brother's friends were found involved in kidnapped and killing.

Political-criminal nexus is located as the prime reason for high profile kidnappings and murders. 'Public protest' against the offenders and police-inefficiency on the issue of kidnapping and sexual abuse, in particular, sparked at many places, in many cases, throughout study period. Involvement of known people, relatives and friends in kidnapping and killing is pronounced in this crime category. The situation leads to conclude that children are the most vulnerable and unsafe with their own people, in their own family, neighbours and friends.

5.5 Economic Crime that constitutes third numerous throughout till 2012 records a declining trend during 2013 and 2014. This is highest in 2006 and 2008. Snatching away of cash and jewelry in broad day light and organised robbery at houses and shops are most numerous. Some cases of bank robbery are also reported during 2006 and 2008. **Extortion is a particular type of economic crime that is most rampant during 2005, which continued through the next years with declining trend after the new regime took over.** The nature of economic crime has changed during successive years with a sharp decline in extortion cases till 2008, while cases of kidnapping for ransom gradually reduced. **Kidnapping for ransom** that constitutes next frequent economic crime and most of these are listed in the **body crime** category (for adults) and crime against children category (for children) needs to be identified as economic crime as well because this involves money. This is not unusual to find interface between different types of crime and necessitates cross-cutting analysis of the themes. Such interface is located in cases of **public protest** and consequent loss of public property.

Robbery at bank offices and snatching away of heavy cash nearby bank premises has been quite frequent during 2006. One of the important reasons for such broad day light robbery has been associated with **change of the government and miserable defeat of the old regime**, which was quite infamous for politician-criminal nexus for more than a decade (since mid-1990s). During those years kidnapping for ransom was sarcastically described as the most organised and flourished 'industry' in Bihar. **Weak law and order situation** was the next important reason. Cash robbery continued during new regime as well despite better law & order situation but killing for robbery considerably reduced. Women in only a few cases were robbed off cash but most important economic crime against women began since 2010 is gold rope snatching in a very smart fashion by the young bikers, which records highest incidence in 2012 with a sharp decline during 2013 and 2014. Economic crime includes cases of fraud, smuggling, scams as well that affects 'collectives', the civil society instead of just individuals. **The nature and forms of economic crime sharply reflects change over the period and leads to conclude that a new breed of economic offenders includes educated, smart young men (even students), from well-off families, the purpose of crime for whom is to make money through easy and smart way. This trend is most perceptible in gold-rope snatching cases, which is almost a risk-free fun-like action for these offenders. Women are the**

soft targets and all they need is a fast new-brand motorcycle, a pistol and confidence to terrorize their targets. This crime is rampant in middle-class colonies and posh localities, where women afford to wear gold ropes. Cash snatching is the other less risk-involving crime and at least a part of the offenders come from the same socio-economic background. A sharp class-divide between the offenders from the poor and (neo) rich social-economic background is visible.

5.6 Political Crime that constitutes sixth numerous with close to 5 percent at the beginning of the study period also registers decline by end with 3 percent. Political crime encapsulates those crimes associated with political people of a parliamentary party / parties. It was highest during 2005 and 2007 and lowest in 2011. It is shocking to note that even after the President rule was imposed on the state on March 8, 2005, crime incidents about political, economic (mainly extortions), kidnapping and murder continued to be rampant and this continued to be very difficult to contain even after the new regime took over and law & order situation improved. It was only after the Special Task Force joined hands with the police; encounter-killing of the gangsters began, crime control could become possible to a certain extent. A series of tug of war between the police (STF, in particular) and gangsters normally associated with one politician (and political party) or the other continued till 2006 and first half of 2007. The new regime had to struggle very hard to for crime control. **Genesis of the political crime needs to be located in this overall context, because politicians of the party, which lost 2005 elections and ousted from power launched offensive against the new regime and utilized their criminal nexus with full vigor to counter the claims of the ‘good governance’ made by the new government.** Such offensive were countered by the state forces that led to killing of some of the political leaders along with their goon. In tug of war between the goon of the ruling alliance and politicians associated with the loser party had to suffer the jolt. Some cases of kidnapping of the kids of politicians also took place and the offensive from the defeated regime was so aggressive that even the kids of the ministers and bureaucrats were not spared. Police and bodyguards of the ministers were targeted, at times. In one case, kid of a minister was assaulted by the police outside Central School Campus, located in Bailey road. Some local leaders of the RJD were killed in Phulwari Sharif and some of the BJP were shot dead in Kankarbagh and Hanuman Nagar areas. Daughter of the driver of PRD minister (of the JDU) was kidnapped and as stated above, son of a minister was assaulted by police, who appeared to be a sympathizer of the old regime.

Scamesters were next important target of the criminal-politician nexus. Money earned through fodder scam by some bureaucrats and politicians were targeted by the gangsters who felt that the new regime was making them ‘jobless’ and ‘penniless’ as kidnapping and extortion were two main routes (for them) to earn money and continue sway over the rival politicians and civil society, both. The confidence of the criminal-politician nexus could be understood through those cases, which targeted senior police officers, senior bureaucrats and their kin. By 2008 many criminal gangs were eliminated in police

encounter and many others were killed in gang war, in which victim and perpetrator both were criminals. Nature of political crime also changed with a decline in politician-criminal nexus notwithstanding the fact that this cannot be completely eliminated as is ingrained in political system *per se* in Bihar (and in other parts of the country as well).

5.7 Poverty-driven Crime constitutes the lowest incidence with average 2-3 per cent and with modest fluctuations remains consistent through out study period and shows little incline at the end however, ground reality is different. In fact, this category has close interface with ‘urban planning’ category and other categories as well, for instance, many cases of suicide committed by men and women both involves poverty and economic hardship as the reason behind extreme step. Poverty driven cases have claimed 23 men’s lives and at least half of the women’s lives listed under suicide ((Table-1.1 & 1.2, Annexure-I). Poverty and destitution forces women with kids to commit suicide; poverty situation often compels men to consume ‘*desi liquor*’; poverty compels people commit trivial crime such as theft and lifting; and poverty caused by unemployment drives young people commit economic crime and get trapped in crime network. Women involved in sex trade are trapped in trafficking due to poverty, though such cases are listed in crime against women category. An interface is obvious between the two typologies of crime. Therefore, poverty and inequality cannot be fully explained and understood in isolation. Poverty-driven crime, thus encapsulate blatant cases of poverty, but latent cases are many in other crime categories. Deeper analysis of many incidents leads to conclude that poverty is the genesis of these crimes. Poverty also culminates into violence in many cases and act as a catalyst in perpetuating crime. Poverty caused by unemployment leads to involvement of the youth in criminal activities. Their vulnerability is exploited by the criminal-politician nexus. To sum up, many negative incidents occur and many types of crime are perpetuated by poverty.

5.8 Property-related Crime constitutes on an average 3.4 per cent and registers some decline by the end of study period and encapsulates those cases the genesis of which is property dispute and damage to property, in any form. Land dispute emerges as the dominant reason for property related crime. While this category of crime has interface with **economic crime** if the context is private property, it has close interface with **public protest**, if the context is public property. Public protest often leads to damage to public property depending on kind of incidents and sometimes, also claims private property, for instance, if a truck / bus driver kills or injures people, he is physically assaulted or even lynched by public and his bus or truck is burnt by the infuriate mob. Property related crime includes dealing in property as well. Property disputes often culminates into killings, assault, kidnapping and even killing of kids (in some cases) by relatives, neighbours and known people in vengeance. Land and landed property disputes kill women, men and sometimes, the entire family. Altogether 30 men are victimized in property related crime incidents and 22 among them are killed; property dispute has

claimed 4 women's lives as well (Table-1.1 & 1.2, Annexure-I). This excludes fire outbreaks in poor's settlements, which devastates hundreds of lives and all property earned by them with hard labour. This has another interface with 'urban planning'.

5.9 Urban Planning on an average constitutes 6.5 percent of the total incidents over the study period, the incidence of which however is the highest among all types of crime during 2014 with nearly 28 percent. This category includes those incidents, which affected the life of the common people, in general and the poor, in particular. Encroachment drive of the government that displaces the petty shopkeepers and vendors (without alternative arrangement created for them) badly affect their employment, income and sustenance of their families. This also affects common buyers and consumers of cheaper products they get from these vendors and petty shopkeepers. Natural disasters such as fire breakout devastates the whole settlement of the poor erected on the government land near Rajbanshi Nagar, Kurji, Kankarbagh and other areas, but government offers no permanent relief to those who suffer and get displaced. Permanent housing for these urban poor is the only relief that can help them in real sense of the term and this responsibility lies with urban planning. Such cases are many and have interface with poverty driven crime incidents. Road accidents kill poor adults and kids sleeping on the footpath nearby these settlements and at other places, for which while truck / bus drivers are immediately responsible but government's responsibility is ultimate as poor people are completely excluded from the Urban Planning processes, which results in their homelessness and desertion after any calamity and crisis. Road dividers are constructed in faulty design that leads to frequent accident of bikers and often claims life. These incidents and many more strongly argue in favour of an inclusive urban planning that must encapsulate poor local settlers and migrants both. People die of electric current at public places; the fault lies with poor maintenance of power supply; water and power supply crunch is normal feature and common people have to suffer everyday. Water logging during rains is yet another problem. Altogether 74 cases related with urban planning are listed that badly affect common people and disturb civil society at large (Table-1.4, Annexure-I). This crime typology has close interface with 'public protest' the highest incidence of which is directed to inefficiency associated with urban planning and other government agencies accountable for civil supplies and basic amenities.

5.10 Public Protest is public response against crime such as kidnapping of kids, murder of innocent people and sway of criminal's in residential localities that miserably affect security and quality of civilian's life. Public protest is public response to lapses in planning and functioning of the public agencies. **This constitutes fourth numerous incidents that contain elements of crime as well, with nearly 11 percent on an average but records the highest during 2012 and 2014.** This category constitutes single digit percentage since 2005 through the 2011. It is startling to observe that this is unusually highest in 2012 with 30.5 percent. One of the important reasons for this heightened frequency of **public protest** around public issues is discontent and anger that

gripped the civil society after differences between the ruling NDA alliance partners surfaced through chain of political incidents. Media played its vicious role with highlighting these differences with their tinted mirrors. Public opinion was construed through media highlights and a sense of political insecurity engulfed the common public. Their anger against the systemic failures erupted at many occasions. The process continued and heightened till the ruling alliance finally parted ways in June 2013. The state government suffered serious setback though the majority-holder party continued to sustain the government, but governance weakened (Phase-IV, Matrix-I above). The civil society was not ready to accept this setback, because after one & a-half decade of bitter experience of (mis-)governance of the RJD regime, the new regime was performing well with a strong and stable government run by the NDA coalition. Therefore, after the state government weakened and the ousted partner began to destabilize the government, on one pretext or the other along with the opposition parties, the civil society on various occasions expressed their discontent through public protests on different issues. Law and order situation also weakened with further political developments in May 2014 (Phase-V, Matrix-I above) and bureaucracy revealed uninspiring gesture and posture that affected their performance, which consequently affected the civil society. This situation explains the reason for public protest being the first and the second numerous incidents during 2012 and 2014, respectively. Another important fact needs to be highlighted that while till 2011 public protests were predominantly directed against police inaction and criminal's sway, it were overwhelmingly directed against the non-performing / ill-performing public agencies thereafter along with heinous nature of crime, police atrocities and connivance with criminals etc (Table-1.5, Annexure-I).

6. Capturing the Themes through Cases: How deeper poverty, inequality and violence are embedded in the system *per se* and to what extent a society gets inflicted with criminal instincts in a situation of weak rule of law – the below illustrated cases are a testimony to this. While weakness of rule of law is one crucial factor responsible for perpetuating crime in **public sphere**, it is caste / class/ gender inequalities and stratification in the society entrenched with a complex set of feudal ethos that, at many occasions, transforms a non-criminal civilian into a criminal, normally both **private sphere**, and at special occasions, in public sphere too. Crime committed against family members by family, relative, friends, neighbours and known people, who are normally non-criminals has increased over the years. Crime committed by the youngsters of the rich and resourceful families is another growing trend observed during stipulated study period. Some cases (Annexure-II) demonstrate that how and in what way social stratification and remnants of feudal ethos, both factors operate in the society of urban Patna. Most of these incidents have occurred during 2005 and 2006 and this is no coincidence, because these years are witness to most cruel and violent type of crime incidents, the nature of which changed over successive years.

In one case **bomb blast at the roof of the house killed the old lady, the owner of the house**. This case conveys a message that regular visitors / or even extended family members may not be trusted and given free access to inside parts of the house. This also raises question about as who was the target of blast? Was the victim herself or somebody else or the whole family? If victim was the target that means senior citizens are not safe in their families. If that is the case, bomb was not planted by an outsider (Case-1).

Dowry system - a curse for the society, families and girls, in particular, often claims lives and results in other kind of economic and psychological devastation for the victim family. Dowry does not ensure girl's safety and future security in marriage – this is established fact, but this inhuman and anti-woman practice continues to thrive in society across all castes and classes with varying degrees and statuses. Dowry demands pushed a young girl towards suicidal attempt as her marriage negotiation broke down due to unaffordable dowry demand. This is a case of dowry-victim before marriage (Case-2).

Monica Tiwary, a socialite, who maintained intimate relationship with high profile politicians and bureaucrats, was found brutally murdered in her High Income Group flat, of which she was an illegal occupant, according to police sources. Monica had contested Lok Sabha election from Gopalganj constituency in 2004 and miserably lost. A postgraduate and M Phil degree holder from Delhi University, Monica's overpowering political ambitions could not let her recognize the fact that illicit association with high profiles may end up claiming her life. **Her killing raises issues such as feudal-consumerist culture embedded in politics, glamour, sex-scandal and all this consuming an aspiring woman's life. This case exposes the consumerist culture embedded in politician-criminal nexus (Case-3).**

Continuity of this trend could be seen in flesh trade and woman trafficking under the garb of beauty and massage parlours. Many cases of frequent raids on the beauty and massage parlours running sex business are recorded throughout study period and the crime does not appear to recede despite regular arrests. The police sources inform that female workers in these beauty and massage Parlours defend their work as *karobaar* or business, profession etc. and denied their involvement in flesh trade. There were 20 such Parlours being run under Kotwali PS jurisdiction; 10 under Gandhi Maidan PS jurisdiction; 12 under S K Puri PS jurisdiction 8 under Shastri Nagar PS and above a dozen under Kankarbagh and Rajendra Nagar areas. Media reports informed that at least 200 such beauty and massage Parlours were being run in urban Patna and above 300 girls were employed therein; majority of these were brought from West Bengal and Nepal. It is difficult to conclude whether all of them are trapped or not. While in some cases they were explicitly found to be trapped, in some other they denied. In most of the cases, they were initially trapped and later get used to this work for money either accepting it as 'destiny' or as 'compulsion' in absence of a dignified alternative to earn money for survival. Interrogation from these girls generated a mixed response. **They defended their work as Karobaar and instead, posed question before police officials that why not**

they arrest the owners and managers first if they are doing wrong business? It also appears that culture of *sex workerization* is fast changing the traditional value system of the girls/women involved in this work as to them now this is *karobaar* (occupation or profession) instead of ‘immoral act’ (*before*). This acceptance is a culmination of complex process of change brought about in their life through being trapped by the traffickers, forced by circumstances, alienated from their birth place and local society and for want of more money. The ultimate situation that further compels them remained trapped in this ‘*karobaar*’ is poverty, at home and fears of ‘not being taken back’ in families and accepted by the society. Girls / women are not safe and able to preserve their integrity even at so called – respected - working places - they argue and defend this ‘*karobaar*’ saying that if women are not safe and secure at ‘respected’ working places and they have to lose in terms of either compromise or even quitting jobs – what is wrong with working in the Parlours, where they do not have to maintain double standard? Arguments are many but empirical situation explains as why and how this culture of demeaning of the essence of human life through commoditization of body was fast becoming the dominant culture of our society.

The case of *Baiju* killed by his cousin, who suspected his wife’s relationship with the victim highlights that relatives are not always trustworthy. *Baiju* was a minor and even if his cousin’s suspicion was correct his behavior with his minor cousin was inhuman and unlawful. This also demonstrates women’s subservient status in marriage. Deceased was a minor and no clarification was sought from the adult wife, either (Case-4). This also raises a question that how a man simply on the ground of ‘suspicion’ has right to kill a minor, who was ‘assumed to be an accused’ of what an adult may do?

In yet another case, poor father of a minor patient (aged 14) admitted for treatment of a serious ailment in Kurji Holy Family Hospital was so brutally beaten by six guards of the hospital that he died on the spot. This brutal incident sparked public protest inside hospital campus and to prevent it hospital administration closed the doors of the hospital and culprit guards were hidden. In spite of public protest, guards were not arrested by Pataliputra police officials. Follow up reports are not available, therefore, it is not possible to say whether criminal-level insensitivity of the hospital administration and police could be challenged or not, because deceased was a poor person from Maner in Patna district. This case also highlights the issues of social stratification, inequality and violence (Case-5).

Some cases demonstrate **involvement of friend/s and relatives in killing** of adults and minors both. For instance, in one such case a policeman’s son was killed by his friend (and his father), who knew that the victim had helped his sister to elope with their common friend (Case-6). In another incident a minor was abducted and killed by friends and a relative for ransom (Case-7); and in yet another case a minor was abducted and killed by his maternal uncle as the perpetrator had some dispute with father of the victim

(Case-8). Reasons could be money, vengeance and / or a love triangle for these school boys. **Such cases are confirmation to the fact that killers are present in our society and in family under the garb of friends, relatives and other people from known circles.** Such cases raise questions about society as a whole – do we live in a criminalized society?

Daring incidents of murder of a trader - brother of a Deputy Superintendent of Police; killing of the brother of an IPS officer in Danapur; murder of an EX-DIG inside train coach at Rajendra Nagar Railway Station; and kidnapping of a government official's son from Phulwari and many other cases (during 2006, 2007 & 2008) reveal that even **high profile people and families were not safe and political-criminal nexus was very strong in the state even after new government resumed office and consistently made efforts to curb crime and restore proper law and order situation.**

Now let us look at some cases, which affect collectives and not individuals. The forty year old hamlet of poor people near Kurji along side Ganga river was ruined as cooking fire caught up first the hut of a family, and later the fire engulfed the whole settlement in the area (Case – 9). The cooking means in such settlements are unsafe as poor cannot afford gas connections or electricity facilities. Such mistakes may often take place, but not always result in total devastation. Huts are often made of straw, wood and other materials, which are not fire-resistant, instead fire-prone. **Poverty, lack of housing for the poor that is directly associated with urban planning are mainly responsible for this incidents, which often occur during summer.**

How an anti-encroachment drive of the state government proved to be devastating for the poor settlers accommodated in more than 300 huts near old Jail campus is demonstrated in (Case-10). The local people were against this drive and overall situation led to altercation between the police and public. Some unsocial elements took undue advantage of the situation and set ablaze the bulldozer brought on the spot to bulldoze the illegal constructions. The bulldozer developed some technical problem due to which fire broke out and engulfed above 300 huts constructed around the Jail campus. It took hours to control fire via half-a dozen fire brigades. Thousands of the poor settled on the encroached government land were deserted and became homeless at the advent of the winter season. The government announced adequate compensation for the affected people and clarified its position through information that encroachment drive was initiated in accordance with the order of the Patna High Court and fire caught up in bulldozer due to some fault in its hydraulic system. However, **this does not solve the existential problems of the settlers, which is directly associated with urban planning.**

A city transport bus crushed six kids and their mother during late night – all sleeping outside their huts located near Kankarbagh telephone exchange (Case-11). These were 'illegal residents' living in small huts and sleeping outside their hut during very hot summer. **This accident / killing highlight poverty and urban planning both issues to**

be taken up together. Poverty does not allow these poor afford better and secure place to live in and urban planning has no space for poor people.

In another incident of similar kind, five youths (aged 19-22) were crushed by a truck in Patna city on August 30, 2014. They were sleeping outside their huts while the truck crushed them. A kid was spared by chance, who informed about this accident to the local people. **This incident sparked serious protest** and demands for construction of cemented houses, toilets and hospital in the Dalit locality where incident occurred was made before the Chief Minister. The fact also came to light that a few days ago, some gangsters, had threatened the residents to vacate the government land they had occupied. **This raised suspicion about the incident as being a ‘plotted’ one.**

A devastating rampage at Gandhi Maidan (the heart of the capital city) on the eve of Vijayadashmi (last day of Durga Puja) on October 2014, claimed 33 lives, most of them women and kids is a **glaring case of failure of urban planning and insensitive (to common people) civil and police administration, both.** This incident occurred due to closed entrances and high fences that encircled Gandhi Maidan, laxity of civil and police administration, lack of proper lighting arrangements, and above all these, the pampering attitude of the administration (civil and police, both) to assign high priority to comforts of the VVIPs, at the expense of the need of the common people. In this incident unsocial elements took undue advantage of darkness and perpetrated eve-teasing and molestation with girls and women. The rampage intensified due to a rumour about broken live electric wire on the road that was the nearest exit point. This was ‘single’ gate open for the huge gathering while other gates were open ‘only’ for the VVIPs.

7. Conclusion: Issues of poverty, inequality and violence embedded in overall crime situation are crucial but do not fully capture the changing nature and trends of crime in the study area. Crime is committed by educated youths of the rich families; by friends and relatives; by people in intimate relationships such as husband and wife, parents & son / daughter; and genesis of such crimes lie in social disintegration, emotional frustration, lust for money & material stuffs, vengeance etc. all could be summed up in crumbling down of human values and integrity in relationships. Human society is most inhuman and in spite of all material developments appears to be stuck at the pre-human stage of existence. Crime situation arises due to many other factors, specific to place and local conditions, people’s psyche that is construed in personal circumstances and internal factors along with social-cultural environment, they live in. Gendered crime is most revealing instance, which is perpetrated for these reasons. All crimes do not occur due to ‘law and order’ situation, ‘poverty’, ‘urban planning’ and ‘violent’ behavior of the people in society. The system and governance is equally responsible for perpetuating crime. It is political-criminal nexus that is behind most of the ‘body crime’ and crime inside prisons and many more. There could be other **typologies of crime** in Patna that needs to be captured separately, such as crime on the university campus; crime in prison premises,

crime associated with festive occasions, crime against high-profile people from bureaucracy and politics; crime associated with internecine gang-war and conflicting politician-criminal nexus. These crime cases are captured in this study suitably accommodated in the templates closer to the nature of cases.

Media reports reflects that during 2006 political-criminal nexus perpetrated crime in rather ‘reactionary’ manner to malign the efforts and image of the new regime; during 2007 the new regime succeeded to establish rule of law to a better extent that resulted in crime-control even in the rural areas of Patna district along with the urban. In mid-2013 the state government suffered serious set back with breaking down of the ruling coalition that weakened the overall governance. In addition to this, political instability and insecurity gripped the society at large along with political fraternity. The criminal-politician nexus raised their heads afresh and the overall situation culminated into rising crime graph. This may safely be concluded that strong and stable governance capable of maintaining peace and tranquility in the society is a precondition to reduce crime. In fact, a society that is largely governed in unlawful manner and an ‘establishment’ run by serious systemic irregularities and where law makers and maintainers become the ‘law-breakers’ it is difficult to expect the ‘rule of law’ to be established for all alike? In such a society and social-political environment the best can be achieved through maintenance of stringent law and order situation and this is the ‘least’ immediate requirement. The issues of poverty, inequality and violence that grip the urban society of Patna have to be seen in this context.

Notes:

1. All dimensions are explained in this text as per location of river Ganga, which constitutes the northern boundary of the capital city.
2. Near Danapur railway station, where Regional Headquarter of the Eastern Railway is located.
3. Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) led by Laloo Prasad Yadav, who became Chief Minister of the State for two consecutive terms. His second term as CM was interrupted by his involvement in serious nature of economic crime (fodder scam) that compelled him step down the premier position and lodging of his wife Rabri Devi as his replacement, who continued as Chief Minister of the state from July 25 1997 to February 2005, before the President Rule was imposed. The President rule was imposed after Assembly elections were conducted in due time and results led to a hung legislative body in the state, which was incapable to form a government led by majority.
4. This was a coalition government constituted by the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), a coalition of two political parties the Janata Dal-United (JD-U) and the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP); the former was the bigger partner in the government and the later, the smaller. This coalition parted their ways in June 2013 the impact of which was deeply felt by the public at large, in the society and reactions were grossly reflected in social-political environment of the state.

5. New government led by the NDA coalition was formed on November 24, 2005 and the RJD regime was voted out of power after 15 years.
